

and kept by the father. Because of the sacredness it would require through contact with the boy's virile member, it would be an object to be protected from contamination. The *tuhuna* could not touch fire until he had been purified. (This was doubtless because the virtue of the *tapu* in his hands, resulting from the operation, would have entered his food through the fire.) Père Pierre wrote that the boy was *tapu* for three days after the operation and had to remain in his house, not being allowed to leave it. On the other hand it will be seen in the account given to Mr. Linton that it was said at Pua Ma'u that circumcised boys had to stay in a special house for one month.

After the operation the wounded member was wrapped in leaves and laid on a sun-heated beach boulder (*kiva*). When the injured part was healed, there was a feast for the chief lad of the group who had been operated upon—that is, for the son of the man who was paying for the operation. This feast was virtually of the same kind as the celebration that followed the completion of tattooing. At this feast the boy, anointed with oil and dressed in all his finery, danced wearing his loin cloth. Mr. Linton was told that the feast was for the boys only. It is probable that usually there was merely a simple feast, but that for the son of an important chief there was a public feast. According to Père Jean (19), a certain number of youths made themselves *tapu* with the young chief who was being operated upon, not associating with women, holding themselves continent at this time. When the effects of a boy's operation had healed, he became a *ka'ioi* with these youths.

The purpose of the splitting of the foreskin, according to Père Jean, was to forward human generation. Those who had not had the operation performed were regarded with disgust by both men and women. They were called *akau pi'a* (*akau*, wood; *pi'a*, male organ). A woman would have nothing to do with a male if he had not had the operation performed.

Several of the early explorers describe the tying of the end of the foreskin with a cord. Krusenstern (16, p. 176) says with regard to this:

The men [of Nuku Hiva] are not circumcised, but some of them had the foreskin cut straight down, which is said to be done with a sharp knife; and, like the inhabitants of St. Christina [Fatu Hiva], they tie the extremity with a knot. . . . [According to a resident European] the women of Nukahiwa are quite obdurate with regard to those who do not observe this fashion.

Just what beliefs regarding the *tapu* there may have been in connection with this custom it is impossible to tell. It seems probable, however, that the practice had for its purpose merely protection.

The following excellent account of the operation of incision of the foreskin, as it was performed at Pua Ma'u, was obtained by Mr. Linton:

852
304
[82]

[832]●

534 particularly the instrument used in love-making by young men. It is
 534 said that those who knew the art of playing this instrument could talk
 832 through its tones. A girl's lover would go behind her house at night

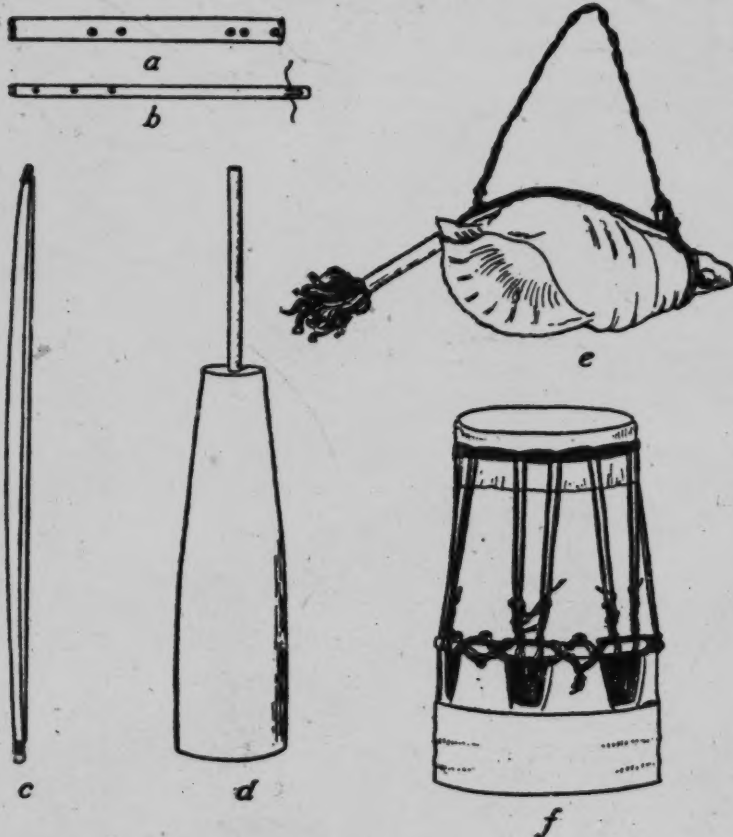


FIGURE 29.—Musical instruments: *a*, nose flute; *b*, mouth flute; *c*, musical bow; *d*, trumpet made of wood; *e*, shell trumpet; *f*, drum.

and thus talk to her as she lay on the family bed space, luring her to come out to him—and it was not only unmarried girls that were “talked to” in this way! The nose flute was the instrument of the Marquesas islander’s most subtle mode of love making. (See fig. 29, *a*.)

X⁵³³
773 hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

X⁵⁵³ As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.*

X⁵³³
769
832 The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

* Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folklore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

Handy and Winne—Marquesan Music

19

was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna*, who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf¹⁹ quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

¹⁹ Langsdorf, G. H. von, *Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805* (p. 164), London, 1813.

MARQUESAN CULTURE

165

but in any event the nursing period was very short. Women took great pride in the firmness and beautiful shape of their breasts, which were important in sexual play. They believed that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it. Feeding times were irregular and dependent on the convenience of the adult rather than the protests of the child. 853
[332]

I saw only one small infant during my entire stay in the Marquesas. It must have been about six months old, but I never saw it nurse. The feeding process was brutal. The child was laid flat on its back on the house platform while the mother stood alongside with a mixture of cocoanut milk and baked breadfruit which had been made into a thin, pasty gruel. She would take a handful of this stuff, and, holding her hand over the infant's face, pour the food on its mouth. The child would gasp and sputter, and gulp down as much as possible. Then the mother would wipe off the child's face with a sweep of her hand and poured on another handful of the mixture.

There was no particular effort at anal control for small children until they were a year or so old. The adult merely changed the bark cloth on which the child lay. Later the child might be picked up, carried a short distance, and held out to perform its functions. With adults the excretory functions were private; they usually sought retirement in the bushes. I have no data on thumb sucking beyond the fact that I never saw any child doing it. Nor did I ever see any of the postural attitudes common to European children who show embarrassment in the presence of elders by sticking their thumbs in their mouths. (The men smoke moderately but there is no chewing of gum or nuts as a form of mastication pleasure. I have, however, observed men sucking the breasts of women when it was evidently not a preliminary form of sexual excitement.) 863
[514]
865
[276
261]

From birth on, the child was never alone. The small child was under constant threat from the female ogre spirits, *vehini-hai*, who are supposed to steal small children and eat them. As the child grew older and began to wander, there was the additional 854
[175]
855
266

MARQUESAN CULTURE

855¹⁶⁶

- [264] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861

There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857

When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

196

MARQUESAN CULTURE

773 All that seems to happen is that the girl is ashamed, and the mother forbids the girl to have intercourse with any other man. But not for long, for the men soon set out to get the girl a man with a skin as white as cocoanut.² They find one, but he deserts her; she dies of grief, but is revived by his longings.

[932] ² White skin is considered in Marquesas a mark of beauty.

[End of processed section]

/17 cont. /

role in adolescent and adult sex life. The medications administered are astringents which are also believed to possess cleansing qualities. They are intended, according to informants, to shrink the mucus membrane lining of the vaginal canal and generally aid in increasing muscle tone of the coccygeo-gluteal muscles. Furthermore, they are believed to inhibit the production of lubricatory fluids (vai to'e) in the vaginal canal and to suppress vaginal malodorousness. Administered after birth, they also cleanse the vagina of the female infant of superfluous dried mucus and effluviae after birth. The results attributed to these medications -- decrease in size of vaginal canal, increased muscle tone and inhibition of mucus production, and /18/ suppression of malodorousness -- are of major importance as qualifications for a sexual partner. These qualities are most frequently mentioned when males discuss the relative sexual merits of women. The Marquesans believe that women from Tahiti and white women in general are possessed of rather large genitalia and endowed with a superfluity of vaginal secretions which Marquesans regard as contributing to malodorousness. The use of the astringents enumerated below supposedly raises the Marquesan women far above the level of either Tahitians or Whites in terms of their physical attributes for the sex act.

The astringents used are several in number; the plant sources of many occur only in isolated areas and hence are limited in their distribution.

tuei'au (*Antidesma* sp. ?

). The leaves are pounded and mixed with a small amount of water. This mixture is then strained through cloth and 1 or 2 drops placed daily in the vagina after the child has been bathed. This can be begun as soon as the child starts to crawl, but not before. This particular medication is very common in the valley of Hatiheu on the north coast of Nuku Hiva. The only known stand of the tuei'au is in the valley of Ha'atuatua, near Natiheu on the crest of ridge forming the

856
757

[832] ●

186
757
856
826

757
856

/20 cont. /

pa'u An unidentified tree of this name, believed by informants to grow only in the western side of the central plateau of Nuku Hiva, provides bark which is used as an astringent in the same fashion as that of the kehika tree. 757
856

Some of these medications may be taken in a sequence as follows: moho ki'o, koku'u, ko'i'e, and tuei'au. Where it is impossible to obtain all of the medicinal source plants, such sequential dosage would not be possible, however, and one or two would be selected for use out of the possible alternatives. The medication, once begun, is continued up to the age of menstruation or a little before. If the girl was not treated in infancy, the treatment may be started at any time up to the age of ten years. Adults have been known to use the medication but in the two cases reported experienced rather dangerous side effects, such as extreme swelling of the mucus lining of the vagina, make such adult usage infrequent. The use of vaginal astringents is by no means a tottering survival. Most young couples use one or more of the astringents on their female children. Marquesans residing in Tahiti have requested that tu'ei'au, the most popular of the astringents, be prepared and sent to them. 757
832 •

In addition to the effects of the vaginal astringents, a mark of beauty or more appropriately physical acceptability in women is a flat symphysis pubis. To this end, the mons veneris is massaged during infancy and /21/ girlhood. Formerly this massage was accompanied by stretching of the labiae to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles, its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labiae with her lips. This practice is rare at present, however. [198] 856
832

For male infants, no such early preparation occurs. The foreskin is pulled back and cleaned at bathing, however, as genital cleanliness is extremely important for the Marquesans. Therefore, care is taken that the foreskin will be flexible when the child grows older, so that cleanliness may be maintained. 855
515

Marquesan children have ample opportunity to observe much of adult sexual behavior. In the typical Marquesan house, 864
513

/31 cont./

clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

548
648
836

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

554
648
806

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the development of their breasts by daily massage (na ku na ku), usually while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30.

826
832

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially accomplished before the first intercourse as a result of the strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may feel.

[145]
833
[857]
[839]
[492]

with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may feel. [152]

/32 cont./

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming. 826
832
757
[856]

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instructions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's generation, but much is also learned from more sexually advanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen together, talking secretly for long periods of time. The talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school. 864
[602]
[603]
[883]
[521]

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruction of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the couple. 864
838

Although very much at ease with each other in states of undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about appearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite common and semi-nudity around the house is the rule. 291
883
[833]
[526]
[515]

/36 cont./

their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, clothing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: 'tau tau' -- (fat!), with an accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

589
883

883
548

883
515

832

[201]

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred.

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is characteristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words.

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked in pig latin.

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

832 ●

883
834

883
522
198
884

[73]

/39 cont. /

<u>Marquesan</u>	<u>Uhi tua</u>	198 522 834 883
pehea 'oe? (where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe	
makimaki (want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki	
to'e (clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe	
eue (erect penis)	e'ui'urue	
pipirio (vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio	
tea tea (semen)	teate'i terea	

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which [551] are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor.

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys 834 often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of 883 girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys.

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu.

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and 832 girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 883

883
526
832
[177]
[797]

/40 cont. /

described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te poi (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous.

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them.

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced.

832 ●
883

[212]

836

831

833

[832]

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!) Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act. 832
833
[522]

/43/ The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Makate'a literally means: "make 833
192

/45 cont. /

girls to eliminate the potential threat that they pose to any previously established unions and marriages.

836
648

Assigning white males to promiscuous girls is often a means of expressing antagonism against the whites, the implications being that only the girls that no one really wants are good enough for the whites. Often a girl on the way to an assignation with a European will have intercourse with a number of native males first; or will leave her lover momentarily ostensibly to wash, and meet native males surreptitiously. This is regarded as a rather appropriate trick to play on the unsuspecting European, for it is believed to reduce the sexual potential of the girl. [832] ●

If Europeans show signs of establishing permanent or semipermanent residence, or if they have great wealth or position, however, gradually the resistance against their presence falls away, and they can establish a relationship with one of the non-promiscuous girls. In these cases, the economic benefits derived from being a ward of a European far outweigh the disruptive influence that such a person might wield on native social relations.

836
648
182

The promiscuous girl provides a sort of protection for the other women of the community against disruptive influences from the outside, acting as a shock-absorber against the sexual aggression of strangers. There are certain exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed at more length below, involving the use of sexual favors for marked economic gain.

/46/ Through these contacts with an older age-group of the same culture and completely alien groups, which possess different patterns of sexual behavior, the promiscuous girl acquires a somewhat different pattern of sexual behavior. As will be discussed below, the mature adult pattern of sexual behavior is characterized by an increased amount of erotic foreplay, oral stimulation, variety in intercourse positions and prolongation of the sexual act, to mention a few major points. The promiscuous girls are exposed to this pattern and learn to meet its requirements. In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 000

836
648

[833]

/49 cont. /

to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males
with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to
fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known pro-
miscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this
particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls
during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832]●
comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless
valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in
intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed
at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is con-
sidered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently
increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of
adolescence. Males state that at this time they are con-
stantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their
girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is re-
sorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this
sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will
leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly,
and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to
have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to
be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship.
A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods
during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong
images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite [521]
rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called
to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The
individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and
makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua
to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tutte hakaiki --

/54 cont. /

838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]•

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pandanus fruit segments [824]

/66 cont. /

of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

585
833
[192]
[195]

During the act, married women display their excitement with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

159
833
837

[551]

[158]

[733]

[158]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

833
888
[832] •

/90 cont. /

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements.

853
182

[114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

182
844
597
788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

175
159
856

[137]

[832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

114
826
832

/91 cont. /

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never-
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com-
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168),
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past.
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con-
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes.
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices.
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont. /

observances (Handy, *ibid*) reported in the ethnographic sources⁸⁸¹
are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants,¹⁸²
speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to
women who would supervise the healing of the incision and
indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs.
There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or
contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that
they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem^[115]
them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of³⁰⁴
preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin,⁸²⁴
in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence,^[789]
although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without^[833]
stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to
obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore,^[114]
the behavior may actually be a local development. It is^[184]
doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters
can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which
a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which⁸⁶⁴
male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the¹⁷⁴
aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes be-
gan heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will^[114]
be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but
it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to^[626]
lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates^[304]
(p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is
therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into
heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears,
then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to^[881]
heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the dis-^[182]
parate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not
be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again⁵⁷
bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital^[826]
qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman.^[832]
The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the com-
plex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to^[856]

/94 cont. /

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision, being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."